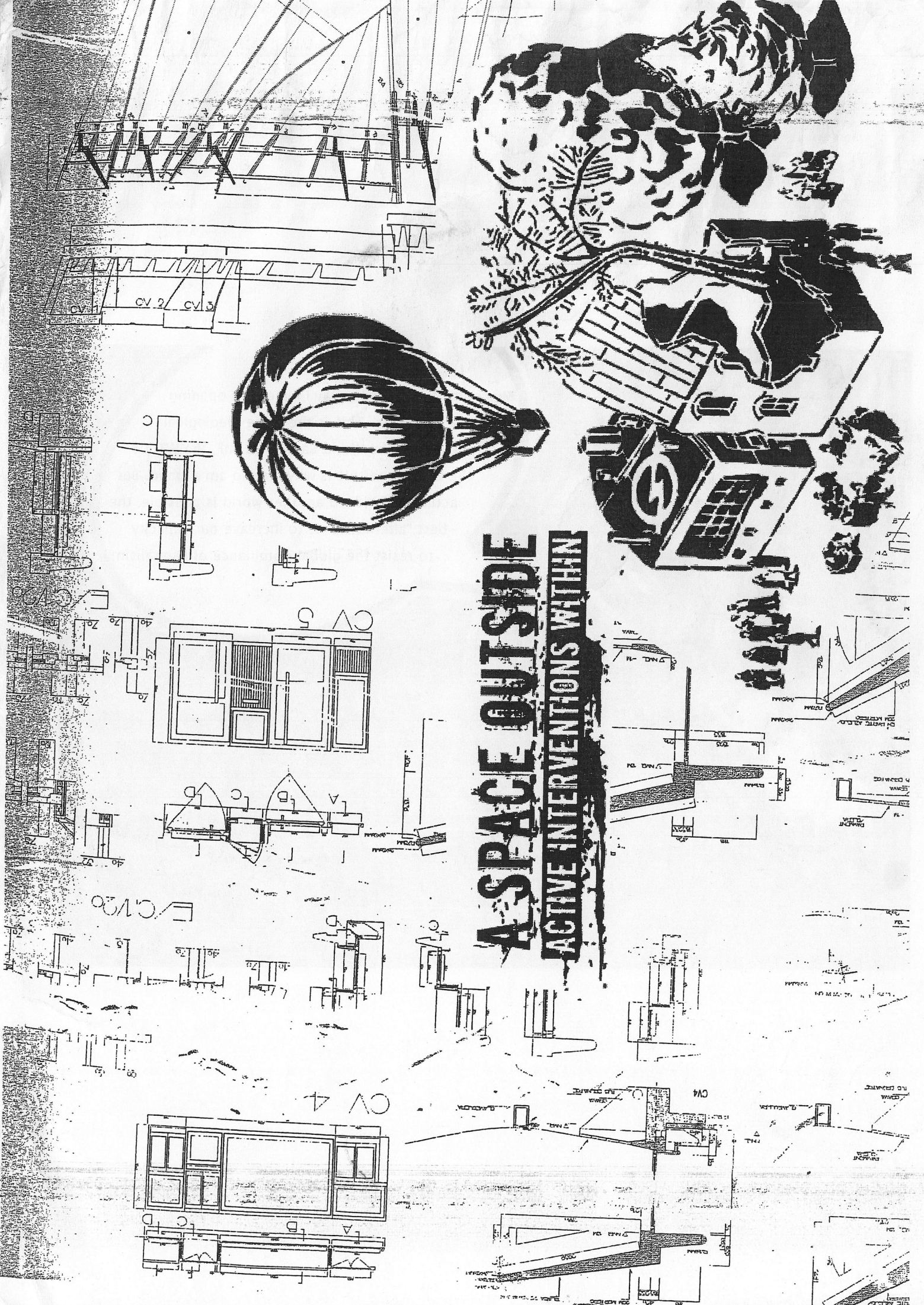
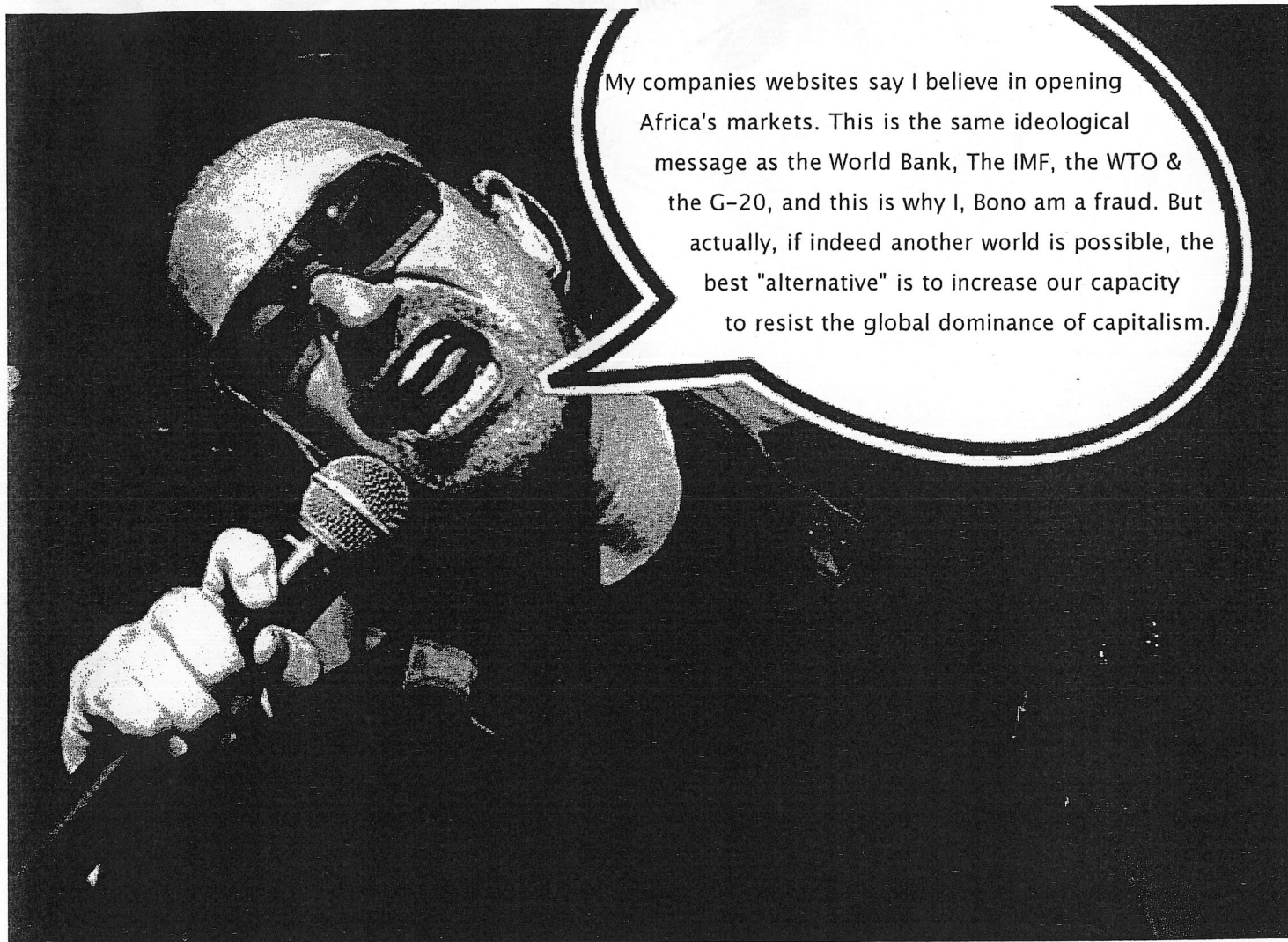


ASPACE OUTSIDE ACTIVE INTERVENTIONS WITHIN





My companies websites say I believe in opening Africa's markets. This is the same ideological message as the World Bank, The IMF, the WTO & the G-20, and this is why I, Bono am a fraud. But actually, if indeed another world is possible, the best "alternative" is to increase our capacity to resist the global dominance of capitalism.

A SPACE OUTSIDE ACTIVE INTERVENTIONS WITHIN

NOVEMBER 13th - 19th, 2006
MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA



A Space Outside is a collective formed to organize a convergence and accommodation space, interactions with radical thinkers, practical direct action skill-shares, and most importantly radical actions and interruptions to the 2006 G20 meeting in Melbourne.

In the lead up to the G20 **fiasco** in Melbourne, **A Space Outside** will be providing a space in which to workshop new ways of **resisting** and disrupting the influence and trajectory of capital and hegemony. This will be a space from which to **collectivise** and activate; a physical space from which to orchestrate the bothering of the status quo. A space that is radically different from, and beyond the control of dominant society where we can think freely and plan ways of increasing our capacity to resist beyond the G20 mobilisation. Not just **A Space Outside**, but a space from which to actively **resist within**.

We are inviting people to come and stay, and to organise radical responses to the current political climate.

Militarism, the war on terror, the privatisation of public spaces, and the neoliberalisation of Australian Universities are provoking activist responses and campaigns, but are also disturbing our capacity to challenge these issues. We want to learn more about these political issues, and reflect on our methods and strategies for dealing with them. To critically examine governments' linking of aid and development objectives with military strategic and economic aims and the work of development and aid NGOs who fail to effectively critique governments' imperialist agendas.

We are asking for people to come and share their skills, their art and their politics.

aspaceoutside@hush.com || www.aspaceoutside.org

 anywhere you walk is indigenous land

GLOSSARY:

A SPACE OUTSIDE: A space to meet, act, plot, scheme and organize; a space to inspire and be inspired; a space to love, talk and play; a space to live and experiment with new ways of living; a space to breathe; a space to learn, teach and share. A space from which to launch active interventions within.

AFFINITY GROUPS: A small group of activists (usually less than 20) who work together on direct action. Organised in a non-hierarchical manner, are able to work in a way that is flexible and decentralised, usually using consensus decision making, and are made up of trusted friends or other like-minded people. Affinity groups can be based on a common ideology (eg. anarchism), a shared concern for a given issue (eg. anti-nuclear) or a common activity, role or skill (eg. street medics). A noteworthy affinity group from the S11 protest in Melbourne in 2000 was Footy Fans Against Mass Murder, who kicked goals for class war against capitalist oppression.

AFRICA: Stunningly beautiful and resource-rich continent. Once home to hundreds of thriving local economies, it has suffered through centuries of Western onslaught. Despite being ceaselessly plundered by Imperial powers for its resources, land and labour, it has an amazing history of liberation struggles and vibrant resistance movements.

APEC: Stands for Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation. APEC is one a handful of neoliberal trade organizations that gets its kicks forcing unequal terms of trade on countries in the Global South. It includes a handful of rich countries (including

Australia and the US), and many poor Pacific Rim countries. APEC will be meeting in Sydney in September 2007. George Bush will be among the honored guests, and all interested persons are strongly urged to get to Sydney to say hi to the bastards.

BONO: Woeful Irish popstar and lead singer of U2. Spends most of his time these days liberating the imprisoned, feeding the hungry, saving the damned and turning water into wine. Oh no, wait, that was Jesus. On a mission to save the world one power ballad at a time. Is often seen rubbing shoulders with the likes of George Bush, Tony Blair, Bill Clinton and the Pope. Oh, and he named one of his sons "Elijah Bob Patricus Guggi Q", which has to tell you something about the man.

CAPITALISM: Private ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. In real terms, capitalism means that the majority of us spend huge chunks of our time working for the profit and benefit of a minority. In exchange for the privilege of getting screwed by bosses on a daily basis, our lives are commodified, our relationships reduced to constant competition, and our voices silenced by the drone of Australian Idol blaring through the mind-numbing television sets which pass for entertainment. Oh, and we're expected to be grateful for it. The good news is that there are cracks running through system ...

CORPORATE ENGAGEMENT DAY: Friday 17th November 2006. A fabulous opportunity to engage in a fun-filled day of decentralized direct action against the corporations that support and profit from the misery of millions. Bring friends, neighbors, instruments, costumes, good ideas, your nanna. Organise your own action or jump on board with someone else's. Think sit-ins, street theatre, occupations, reclaiming

public space, graffiti, culture jamming, dancing in the foyers of big business. Get down and dirty (and creative) in the streets of Melbourne. Check out www.aspaceoutside.org for inspiration/ideas/more information.

DIRECT ACTION: : Not a last resort, but the preferred way of doing things. Acting directly, individually and collectively rather than with mediation and representation. Eg. A slowdown at work, striking, sabotage, shutting down an economic summit, collectively organising to grow your own food. Begins with a belief that we and only we should have the power to shape our own existence.

FREE TRADE: Something not nearly as nice as it sounds. Not so much a cooperative form of gift economy as a means of economic exchange in which an elite minority of traders freely – and without legal or moral hindrance – screw over everyone else.

G7/G8: The Group of Seven/Eight. A forum for the leaders of seven of the richest and most powerful states – Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Japan, Italy and the United States. First met in 1975, and hold yearly Summits. Since 1994, Russia has been invited as a partner to the summits, making them the 'G7 plus one', a.k.a. the G8. The G7/8 functions as the effective centre for global governance, and the decisions made at the Summits have widespread implications for global political and economic affairs. Big on neoliberalism, not so big on human rights, justice, equality or any of that fluffy hippy shit. They are undemocratic, unaccountable, very nasty and very dangerous.

GELDOLF: A tool. In 1985, Geldof guilted the world's biggest popstars into performing for the Live Aid concert which sought to

save the children of Africa from Aids and poverty. If these popstars did not perform, Geldof threatened to expose their evil to the world! Twenty years on, the man will not be stopped, having organised the Live8 concerts to coincide with the G8 meeting in Gleneagles, Geldof explicitly excluded African performers, while Madonna clutched the hand of a token African girl and asked the audience if they were "ready for the revolution". Geldof is on record with praise for the G8: 'On aid, ten out of ten. On debt, eight out of ten. On trade... it is quite clear that this summit, uniquely, decided that enforced liberalisation must no longer take place,' he said before finishing with a flourish. 'That is a serious, excellent result on trade.' In his more interesting and less politically effective incarnation, Geldof had hits with rock band The Boomtown Rats in the 1970's. "I Don't Like Mondays" remains a mantra for resistance against your boss after a Sunday night's heavy drinking. But like Bono's version of "Children of the Revolution", we know that Geldof would never actually organise a mass strike against Mondays.

MAKE POVERTY HISTORY: A campaign organized by a bunch of Western Aid organizations, with Oxfam being the most dominant player. Strong involvement by church groups and networks. Has done a lot of work to raise awareness about the impact of debt in Africa, but is largely apolitical and emphasizes charity over systemic change. Tends to see rich world leaders like Bush and Blair as ultimately well intentioned, warm hearted individuals who really want to end poverty but just need a gentle push in the right direction. Also provides a useful forum for washed-up celebrities wanting to resurrect their public profile by having their photos taken with starving African orphans.

MELBOURNE: Depends who you talk to. Some denote Melbourne the culture, style and multi cultural hub of the country, others the best place in Victoria to get stolen mag wheels and sic hydro. Others still tend to view the town as the Australian birth place of black hoodies, the autonomista intelligentsia and radical booty. See 'Wanker', '1980s ACDC riots' and 'www.s11.org' respectively.

SPOKESCOUNCIL: "In a spokescouncil, affinity groups and task forces (for media, outreach, action planning...) choose spokespeople as their representatives. The group sits behind their spoke, feeding her their input, which she brings to the center like the spoke of a wheel."

<http://resistinc.org/newsletter/issues/2000/04/Spokescouncils.html>
Spokescouncils often aren't a decision-making body (though they can make decisions if necessary), but rather are an opportunity to share information so that different affinity groups (both action groups and task-related groups) can make plans in light of the information that has been shared.

SQUATTING: Squatting is the occupation and/or possession of private or public property for the better use of that space. In law school, students learn that possession is nine tenths of the law. Despite that the legal owner or authorised agent of a space is the only person with the authority to evict squatters, police will often still attempt to evict people. Until recently, squatting was still only a civil offence in Victoria, giving squatters there a greater degree of security than in states such as NSW.

INDEPENDANT MEDIA

If your interested in any facet of media production, whether that be filming, writing, or photographing then the G20 will be the ultimate space to do this.

We need to create our own media and maintain our own voice in response to the planned events of the weekend. There will be an independent media centre at RMIT that will facilitate the production and publishing of media content.

In preparation for the G20 we are calling all media enthusiasts to come together to discuss, plan, and strategise our approach. Different means of publishing and distributing your work will be discussed. Networks can be established prior to the G20 in order to help and assist you on the day.

check out **WWW.ASPACEOUTSIDE.ORG** for details about a meeting to be held in early october.

WEBSITES TO CHECK OUT

www.aspaceoutside.org
www.stopg20.org
www.3cr.org.au
www.aidwatch.org.au
www.u2.com
www.makepovertyhistory.org
<http://www.weareeverywhere.org>
<http://www.uhc-collective.org.uk/toolbox.htm>
<http://www.eco-action.org/dod>
<http://www.noborder.org>
<http://www.makeworlds.org>
<http://www.ainfos.ca>
<http://slash.autonomedia.org>
<http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/3909/index/links.html>
<http://www.reclaimthestreets.net>
www.indymedia.org
www.engagemedia.org

WHY THE G20 IS BAD NEWS FOR DEVELOPING STATES

What can we do? We can re-invent civil disobedience in a million different ways. In other words, we can come up with a million ways of becoming a collective pain in the ass.

- Arundhati Roy

Making an argument about the illegitimacy of the G8 has never been hard – when the leaders of the world's eight most economically and militarily powerful states get together behind closed doors to decide how the world's going to be run for the next year, it's fairly easy to point to the problems. Things get a little trickier with the G20, because it's not as easily written off as a meeting of the Global North elite. Included in the membership are a number of countries whose populations, for the most part, exist with high levels of poverty, low standards of living and low quality of life indicators. India, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, Brazil – these are not countries with overly affluent populations. (By way of a quick comparison, India's per capita gross national income is \$720, compared to \$43,700 for the US).

The expanded membership of the G20 in comparison to the G8 has meant that the G20 has tended to be portrayed as more inclusive and democratic. There's an argument – one which the G20 encourages in its own rhetoric – that the institution represents a forum for countries normally left out of the G8 summit scene to push the interests of the world's poor and disenfranchised, and secure a better deal for developing states. It has been described as a space for the South to press its issues against the North. This sort of idea tends to underpin mainstream civil society campaigns like Make Poverty History, which envisages the G20 as a possible future replacement for the G8, and views this year's November meeting as an historic opportunity for major steps forward in the alleviation of poverty and global inequality. On this reading, the summit is an ultimately well-intentioned meet-and-greet – a chance for the North and South to get better acquainted, and bring prosperity to all through free trade, growth and good financial planning. Bollocks.

Understanding *why* the G20 is damaging for developing and least developed states requires understanding something of where the

institution came from. The G20 was created in 1999 when the members of the G7 (the G8 sans Russia), extended invitations to the IMF, World Bank, EU and twelve other countries described as being “systemically important”, to join them in creating a new international body. Officially created as a deliberative, not decisional body, the G20's mandate is to encourage “the formation of consensus” amongst its members.



The G20 Accord spells out the body's global economic vision. It reads like the script of a G8 fat cat's wet dream: Free movement of capital; deregulation; “flexible” market conditions for labour; privatisation; private property and Intellectual Property rights; a climate favorable to Foreign Direct Investment; and global trade liberalisation through the WTO and bilateral free trade agreements.

Through securing consensus around the agenda set out in the Accord, the G20 serves to legitimise the initiatives and decisions of the G8. And to this extent, it is doing the job for which it was created. The G20, while still somewhat obscured in the shadow of the G8, is evolving into a potentially critical linchpin in the structures of global governance. As institutions like the G8, IMF, World Bank and WTO suffer a monumental crisis of legitimacy (an achievement for which we may like to

claim a little credit), bodies like the G20 will increasingly be required to validate their decisions and initiatives, and provide an illusion of democratic participation and inclusivity while the system keeps on with the same old, same old.



The process through which consensus is achieved in international institutions of is highly suspect. A significant amount of research into the use of consensus building in the WTO has shown that the process is overwhelmingly used to secure and advance the interests of the wealthiest and most powerful Global North states. It doesn't mean "let's all work together to find a mutually-beneficial approach", so much as "we have the money and the trade deals and the guns so if you want us to buy your exports and arm your military and set up our corporations in your country it's probably a good idea for you to agree with us". The fact that Global South countries in the G20 have even less of an institutionalised role than they do in the IMF or World Bank, means that the forum is even more suited to the rich states' well-rehearsed tactics of bullying and coercion.

At the end of the day, it's Imperialism in shinier packaging. And it's the populations of the developing and least developed countries getting screwed once again. But now colonialism comes complete with flowcharts and handshakes. Given that colonies and Empires are officially frowned upon these days, the leaders of the worlds richest and most powerful states need to hide their imperial impulses behind the veneer of democracy, and the rhetoric of respect for the sovereign equality of states. And increasingly,

the colonialism of the North needs the complicity of the South's elites.

There's a big difference between the elites of countries like India, Brazil and South Africa, and the populations of the Global South who bear the brunt of capitalism's devastation. The sell-out of the governments of India and Brazil in recent WTO negotiations made this very clear. The two states had been leaders in a major bloc formed by developing and least developed states at the 2003 WTO summit in Cancun. When the group of states refused to play ball with the US and EU, the trade negotiations collapsed spectacularly, threatening the viability of Doha Round and even the WTO itself. The ensuing melee made starkly visible the dynamics of exploitation and inequality which characterise relationships between the states of the North and those of the South. But one year later and the strength of the group was effectively undermined when the EU and US co-opted the Indian and Brazilian governments as "representatives" of the South, and full negotiating partners in the notorious July Framework Agreement. Latching on to an opportunity to further their own interests, the two states willingly sold out the interests of impoverished nations and their own populations.

The formation of the developing country bloc at Cancun raised hopes that a revival of Southern state solidarity could challenge the dominance of the North. But India and Brazil's cooptation and sell-out made it clear that the populations of developing and least developed states stand to gain nothing from the inclusion of Global South governments in institutions like the WTO, or the G20. Governments make poor choices for allies, no matter what.

When the WTO met last December in Hong Kong, social movements, Global South activists and civil society groups from across Asia mobilised in opposition. In the months leading up to the summit, they met in Colombo, Sri Lanka, to organise their resistance and declare their complete opposition to the existence of the WTO. Declaring that they had "nothing to gain and everything to lose", they called for a mass campaign to derail the ministerial.

And in the last few months, Global South movements have mobilised again, this time in opposition to the recent World Bank and IMF meetings held in Singapore in September. A boycott of the meetings by NGOs attracted an unprecedented level of support, mobilising even moderate organisations to call for a complete rejection of the talks. These mobilisations point to a strong, radicalised current in the Global South, and a recognition that the institutions of neoliberalism are fundamentally illegitimate, doing nothing but reinforcing the structures of global poverty and inequality which capitalism feeds off.

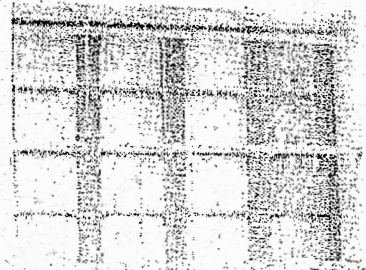
Time and time again, what gets left out of the discourse on trade, poverty and development are the voices of the people directly affected by the decisions of these institutions. The governments of the G20 countries are busy schmoozing each other to secure trade deals and market access. The IMF/ World Bank fat cats are schmoozing everyone to make sure the deals get done and the debt keep rising. And they're all talking about growth and progress and profits and ending poverty and bringing Coke to the masses.

But if you can cut through all that crap, the fact of the matter is that in the midst of this neoliberal love-in, social movements, activists and civil society groups in the Global South are clearly and determinedly articulating their opposition to the agenda of the elites who would claim to be operating in their interests.

The G20 and its proponents might well argue that the institution offers an unprecedented chance for the countries of the South to press their interests against the North. They can argue that it represents a move towards a more inclusive, representative, democratic system of global governance. Campaigns like Make Poverty History might even agree with them. But no amount of window dressing is going to change the fact that at the end of the day the G20 – like the G8, World Bank, IMF and whole sordid lot of them – exists with the explicit purpose of supporting and strengthening a global regime that thrives on the poverty and misery of the majority.

When the Global South movements issued the Colombo Declaration last year, they wrote: *"We declare our solidarity with peoples and communities fighting back against the WTO and bilateral, regional and multilateral free trade agreements in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and other parts of the world... We, workers, organised and unorganised, peasants, dalits, indigenous peoples, fisherfolks, women, students, migrants and other marginalised communities of Asia in solidarity with other peoples will stand at the forefront of the global struggle."*

This November, we have the chance to draw the battlelines, stand in solidarity with them, and declare ourselves allies in the same fight.



ten ciudades con el presente
que construir, debe parecerse
al futuro que sueñas

Mujeres
Gracias

"Be careful with the present you are creating—it should look like the future you dream of."

WHISPER FOR MOBILISATION AGAINST THE G20

In the beginning is the Scream. We Scream
-John Holloway

Preface: This document is not a finished call for action; rather it aims to be what is said before the call, a part of a discussion to build commonalities and affinity around which a call can be generated. We see it as being malleable and fleshy and mutating and alive

Our starting point is our refusal: NO! ENOUGH! BASTA! We realise that lives worth living can only be found against capitalism and all else flows from this. To approach the G20 is to approach a possibility to rupture from the normality of daily life, to jam the functioning of the global empire of capital and its manufacture of social consensus, and from this affirm other ways of being. For this to be realised though involves an open process of questioning how we can work collectively in ways that assert our autonomy from capital and how we can aid the generation of refusals. It is the hope that this short piece can add to this act of cartography, this charting of a new land. Numerous open processes are needed to work out what is common that allows us to act collectively, and how can we affirm our difference and multiplicity in a way that is militant and effective....

To begin with we should be clear that no anti-summit protest will destroy capitalism – because capitalism is not a summit. Capitalism is a lived social relationship that exists everywhere throughout society: capitalism is the school, the kitchen, the bus stop. It is the process in which the collective social activity of humanity and earth are reified into structures, commodities and accumulations from which we are alienated yet which impose their will on the living of our daily lives. It is not Bad Corporations, or Greedy Politicians – it is neither Ronald McDonald nor George Bush. Capitalism is what we are compelled, forced and enticed to build everyday with the most minute of our actions. Yet that said it is also incredibly broken, fractured and precarious. As much as everyday we rebuild capitalism through our activities, we also rebel,

refuse, and act 'other' in numerous gestures of defiance and autonomy. Some of these are small, covert, individual; some massive, overt, and collective. The destruction of capitalism is the manifestation of our numerous, countless NO's: the open collective realisation of new worlds and new relationships. No one rules capitalism: there is no cabal of bankers and politicians, no fat man with a top hat pulling the strings. Yet real human beings manage capitalism. Concrete institutions - nation-states, supra-national bodies, international corporations, secret services and criminal conspiracies - administer it. Events like the G20 provide certain sections of capitalism opportunities to implement certain strategies for the global order. They serve a use in the creation of the appearance of a smooth and functioning world, the appearance of a forum where the tough questions of the globe are being dealt with by a generation's best and brightest.

We go to the G20 with desires and with questions. Disrupting the G20 could help in preventing the smooth running of capital's current and future offensives against us. Mobilising against the G20 provides us an opportunity to break the normality of capital's operations. Also it provides us with the opportunity to manifest what the Leeds May Day Group call, "moments of excess" (<http://www.nadir.org.uk/excess.html>); moments when what is other, what is more, and what is beyond capital manifest in an event. These are events that radically rupture and disrupt the normal operations of power; events that produce new ways of relating and new world and new futures.

The success of any of these elements, to negate the world that is or affirm new and other ways of being, rests on our abilities to connect a big event with the myriad struggles that make up daily life. This does not mean how an "activist" can form links with middle level bureaucrats from trade unions, but rather how

we as part of the multitude can bring into being connections of insubordination with each other. It is a question of how we work to manifest ourselves. It seems that this most often takes place through structures that are firmly wedded to the ossifying remains of social democracy or through relatively small micro-networks of friendship and affinity. The first is totally repellent: these structures are hierarchical leftovers of a dead politics often riddled with authoritarian dynamics. The second is preferable but inadequate: we remain trapped and atomised, isolated against a hostile social machine. We need to find ways of autonomous organising away from the restrictions, defeat and hierarchy of social democracy and we need to find ways of amplifying and transforming our links of everyday solidarity into new forms that can produce enough heat to destroy capitalism.

To this end, we could start to cohere a block or series of blocks (lets call it a 'mobilisation') around a number of points or questions. Placing ourselves (not uncritically) in the lines of revolt of our recent past, we could adopt the hallmarks of People's Global Action as our first basis of commonality. These are:

1. A very clear rejection of capitalism, imperialism and feudalism; all trade agreements, institutions and governments that promote destructive globalisation.
2. We reject all forms and systems of domination and discrimination including, but not limited to, patriarchy, racism and religious fundamentalism of all creeds. We embrace the full dignity of all human beings.
3. A confrontational attitude, since we do not think that lobbying can have a major impact in such biased and undemocratic organisations, in which transnational capital is the only real policy-maker.
4. A call to direct action and civil disobedience, support for social movements' struggles, advocating forms of resistance which maximize respect for life and oppressed peoples' rights, as well as the construction of local alternatives to global capitalism.
5. An organisational philosophy based on decentralisation and autonomy.

These hallmarks do not summarise our dreams and struggles, because our struggles and dreams can not be summarised: we want to open cracks from where lines of flight can shoot out, new possibilities open up: freedom never stops.

These hallmarks have the advantage of being broad enough to include a wide range of revolutionary anti-capitalist orientations with all their differences whilst also separating this manifestation from reformists, racketeers and recuperators. But more is needed than this. To really connect to our daily insubordinations, such a mobilisation needs to grow out of and give voice to our daily struggles — in our workplaces, the streets, schools, hospitals etc. To this end the mobilisation could work to create various consultations around us where our grievances against life under capital and the genius of our resistances can accumulate and communicate. This process could be placed before, during and after the actual G20 meeting, to facilitate the circulations of our experiences and solidarity. The hope here is that this would be a break from single-issue activism or a protest-as-usual approach around "good causes" (fair trade, anti-GE etc) into a "real movement that abolishes the present state of things."



dave & naima

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE WAY BONO "FIGHTS POVERTY"?

It's just not useful, that kind of celebrity endorsement. In fact, it's a killer blow for us. To see the smiles on the faces of Gordon Brown and Tony Blair! This is exactly what they want – they want people to believe that this is their crusade, without actually changing their policy.ⁱ

- John Hilary, director of campaigns and policy of the network, War on Want



On November 18th and 19th, the G20 (finance ministers from the G8 plus 12 of the world's most significant economies) will meet at the Grand Hyatt Hotel on Collins Street in Melbourne. Make Poverty History will host a concert at the Myer Music Bowl and Melbournians will be exposed to a politics that could be quite effective in absorbing dissent, that lacks critical reflection of the flaws in the mainstream politics of international development and foreign aid. This requires an intervention.

At the Live8 concerts in July 2005, U2's Bono and Bob Geldof sent messages to stadium audiences and TV viewers that the world's eight richest governments had made the most significant commitments ever to overseas aid and debt cancellation for third world countries. In reality, the outcomes of the G8 conference of world leaders and finance ministers meeting in Gleneagles Scotland actually cemented *lesser* commitments to debt cancellation than had previously been committed. We are not being told the whole story.

Bono praised the G8, saying "the world spoke and the politicians listened", and labeled UK Prime Minister Tony Blair and Chancellor Gordon Brown the "Lennon and McCartney" of poverty reduction for their espoused commitment to foreign aid. Geldof rated the G8 "On aid, ten out of ten. On debt, eight out of ten. On trade... it is quite clear that this summit decided, uniquely, that enforced liberalisation will no longer take place."ⁱⁱ

At the 2005 G8 Summit, rich governments agreed to 'double aid by 2010 to \$50 billion a year, with \$25 billion going to Africa', and that 'poor countries should be free to determine their own economic policies.' However, over half of this \$50 billion was not actually new pledges at all, but was from old pledges or future aid budgets, meaning less assistance after 2010, and significant portions of aid will still be tied to conditions in the interests of rich countries. For example, according to Yifat Susskind, associate director of US-based women's human rights organisation Madre, Bush's Millenium Challenge Account, praised by Bono and Geldof for boosting aid flows to Africa, ties aid to co-operation with the "war on terror" and favours Christian organisations that promote abstinence over "safer sex" approaches to prevention.¹

In 2005, it was exposed that Make Poverty History wristbands were made using Chinese sweatshop labour, and that UK members of MPH, Oxfam knew about this.ⁱⁱⁱ The MPH campaign was criticised for being more concerned with celebrity and politician partnerships, than with finding real solutions to economic inequalities.

The problem with these concerts is that they have a colonising effect of creating perceptions that governments are willing partners in ending

poverty – that they are “on the same side” as the protesters, but unlike the protesters, are “doing more than just complaining”. K-punk argued that Live8’s predecessor concert a decade earlier, Live Aid reconciled us to agitating merely for philanthropic capital. Indeed, as K-punk notes, the constant assurances from the stage that the audience was “doing something” by showing up for a concert and buying a wristband “cheapen[ed] agency in every sense”.^{iv}

Bono’s Dirt Sheet

Bono has his own product line, RED which aims to “eliminate AIDS in Africa” (as stated on the back of the RED Amex credit card); through donations to aid organisation. Armani, Amex, GAP and Converse have already signed up to be part of the new campaign. GAP and Converse are both renowned for their use of sweatshop labour, and Amex exists off credit interest, often in the form of consumer debt.

Bono has also come under fire for financing a video game that essentially takes players through a military invasion of Chavez’s Venezuela. “Mercenaries 2: World in Flames” depicts the destruction of Venezuela in order to undermine a nationalist movement that challenges US Imperialist hegemony in the region. The video game depicts the overthrow of the government, the bombing of major Venezuelan cities and rural areas, and the takeover of the oil industry. Scenes also bare similarity to the real life war zone and brutality of the Iraq invasion. Elevation Partners is the investment firm established by Bono that has to date invested \$300 million dollars into the game’s creator, Pandemic Studios. Pandemic Studios is a subcontractor for the US Army and CIA funded Institute for Creative Technologies, which mount war simulations in California’s high desert in order to conduct military training.^v

What’s wrong with the mainstream politics of international development and foreign aid?

At the G8 Summit in 2005, Bono, Geldof and Make Poverty History were calling on world leaders to commit 7 per cent of their economy’s gross domestic product (GDP) to foreign aid. This appeared to be a noble call, and some might say it would be a vast improvement on current aid levels. The

problem with this analysis is that nothing will change simply by throwing money at people. A good example of one of the more insidious “foreign aid” projects is Australia’s military deployment in the Solomon Islands, which perpetuated violence and sought to intervene in government for imperialist purposes.

As Zoe Roberts says, the type of foreign aid and international development supported by Bono suggests that behind the compassion, people are still stuck in a colonial world view. People think they are the answer to the world’s problems, still bringing enlightenment to the savages, except now, they’re bringing them an end to poverty.^{vi}

So when U2 come to town and when Make Poverty History stage their concert at the Myer Music Bowl on Friday 17th November, keep in mind that the mainstream politics of international development and foreign aid is not going to provide real solutions to the world’s problems.



ⁱ John Hilary in Quarmby, K., “Why Oxfam is Failing Africa”, *new Statesman*, 30 May, 2005

ⁱⁱ Stuart Hodgkinson, “Geldof 8 – Africa nil: how rock stars betrayed the poor”, *New Internationalist*, 9/11/2005 <http://newint.org/features/geldof-8/9-11-05.htm>

ⁱⁱⁱ Stuart Hodgkinson, “Inside the Murky World of the UK’s Make Poverty History Campaign”, *Red Pepper*, June 28, 2005.

^{iv} Taken from Zoe Roberts, “Strings attached: Bono’s heaven”, *Mutiny zine*, Number 2, May 2006, Sydney.

^v http://www.ucdsu.net/newswire.php?story_id=1191

^{vi} Zoe Roberts, “Strings attached: Bono’s heaven”, *Mutiny zine*, Number 2, May 2006, Sydney.

MAKE POVERTY HISTORY VERSUS DIRECT ACTION

The Make Poverty History campaign and Live8 concerts dominated the discourse surrounding last year's G8 summit in Scotland, as the media bombarded us with proclamations of the success of the campaign and its "people power" lobbies for policy reform. Yet despite Bono and Geldof's claims to the contrary, MPH did not achieve any substantial change. Far from "rescuing" poor countries from their poverty, MPH's real success was to gloss over the political issues, reinforcing the dominance of the richest and most powerful countries and strengthening the economic order which perpetuates the poverty of the majority world. As the G20 gears up for its November summit, MPH is planning a campaign here, to be run on much the same lines.

The failure of MPH's strategies only underlines the need to engage in stronger, more critical and confrontational direct action, overtly challenging not only the policies of powerful world leaders, but the validity of institutional structures such as the G8 and the G20, and the neo-liberal capitalist system they represent.

Lobbying government officials and the mainstream media, welcoming state leaders and asking them politely to change their policies only legitimises the G20 as an institution. Inherent in MPH's campaign strategy is an assertion that all the system needs is a few slight changes for all to be well with the world. But such a strategy explicitly ignores the real political issues associated with poverty and inequality, and the complicity of capitalism's institutions, structures and elites in creating and maintaining poverty. Rather than challenging the economic dependency that global capitalism creates between rich and poor countries, the MPH cam

paign welcomes the leaders whose decisions ensure this dependency is sustained, heaping praise on their rhetoric of charity, and muting criticism of their actual policies and actions.

In lobbying for reform, MPH becomes embroiled in a constant attempt to stay "on side" with political leaders, compromising their position on fundamental issues as a result. In watering down their demands so as not to offend, the politics of trade, liberalism and development get subsumed in a wave of nauseating flattery. For last year's MPH campaign in the UK, this desire not to offend, together with the close personal links between MPH organisers and spokespeople – Tony Blair and Bob Geldof shared a memorable hug on MTV – meant that political goals identified in MPH meetings were co-opted by the UK government to the point of being indistinguishable from the politicians' own policies.

Asking nicely is never going to result in the substantial change needed to actually make poverty history. Institutions like the G8 and the G20 exist to keep entrenched the systems of inequality which serve the vested interests of the world's elites – the men making the decisions are certainly not going to abandon these interests without a fight. The poverty of the majority world is the basis of the wealth and development of the dominant. Neoliberal capitalism is the most fundamental part of the problem – the solution cannot be found within this order, but rather lies in the dismantling of the system altogether.

Direct action is a means of declaring our opposition to these exclusive, undemocratic and illegitimate institutions, exposing their complicity in perpetuating

poverty and inequality critically and confrontationally through civil disobedience and creative disruption. When engaging in direct action, we are not asking politicians and corporations to listen, but forcing them to hear. Direct action is the manifestation of our commitment, our opposition and our resistance. We have no fear of offending the government, or our corporate sponsors: we have no need to stay "on side".

The MPH campaign is conspicuously apolitical. In place of an analysis that recognises the structural forces behind poverty and inequality, its focus is on charity and celebrity. Its solution is to buy a wristband, attend a music festival for a few hours, and let Sir Bono and Sir Geldof fix the rest. What's more, MPH's dependency on a big budget and a big media presence forces it to become highly commercialised, and hence complicit in the corporate culture that perpetuates poverty and exploitation - MPH 2006 is being sponsored by corporations such as Optus which themselves play a significant part in sustaining poverty.

MPH presents their campaign as one of "charity" - "helping" the poor, starving black kids who are unable to help themselves. Television images of small black children with swollen bellies and sad eyes encourage viewers to feel sympathy and pity, but not responsibility and certainly not guilt. MPH in Scotland last year was very much a white movement and a white campaign. African performers were conspicuously absent from the Live8 concerts, and African liberation movements were largely excluded from the organisation of the campaign. It was a campaign of white millionaire popstars "saving" Africa's "helpless", silencing their own fight for justice in the process.

Through direct action we assert that we

are not "helping", but acting in solidarity. We acknowledge the role of colonialism, IMF and World Bank structural adjustment programs, and Western corporations in creating and perpetuating poverty and inequality. Rather than lobbying for debt "forgiveness", we assert the illegitimacy of this debt - undeserved to begin with and already paid back, multiple times over. We are not speaking on behalf of the voiceless, but rather asserting that no-one is voiceless, supporting each other to actively resist at every level from the local to the global.



The MPH campaign employs temporary, short-term tactics only. People are invited to come out for a day and watch a few bands, and then go home and resume their everyday lives, just as before. Its organisation is hierarchical and "representative". It keeps participants in a limited role - one safely removed from political engagement, and which ultimately involves no real participation. Bono, Geldof, Blair and Howard ultimately dictate the terms of participants' protest - come to this place wearing white and watch some celebrities. The real politics is "left to the experts".

This kind of protest is non-threatening to the global order: caged, safe, and non confrontational. Capitalism is strong - it

can handle one day of peaceful, apolitical demonstration. But a constant, everyday struggle directed at every institution, every meeting, every place where neo-liberalism is perpetuated and enforced? Now that might really put a spanner in the works. Through direct, decentralised action, not only are we challenging the existing global order and demanding an alternative, but we are actively working to build and develop this alternative through the very process of resistance.

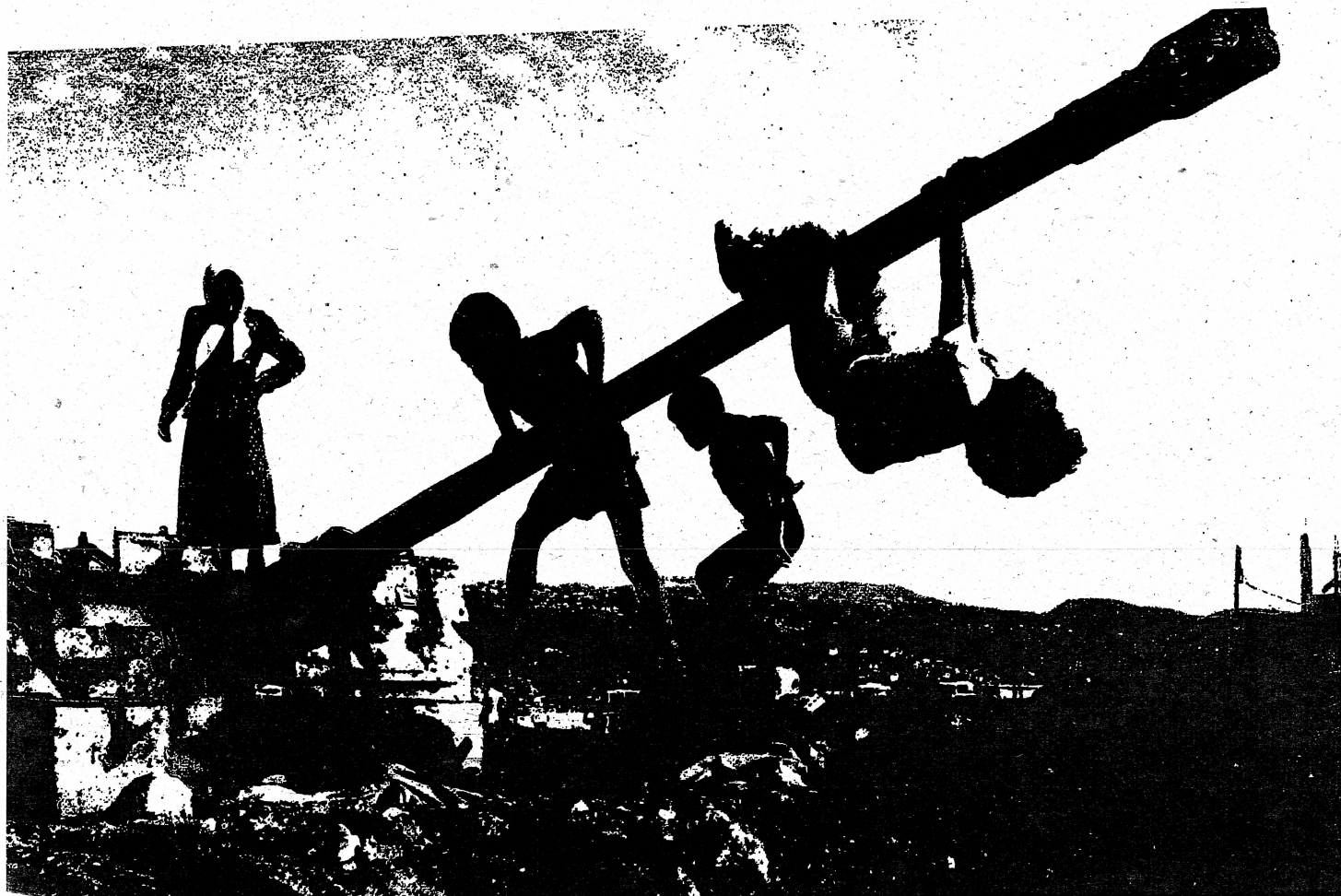
Direct action is inclusive, collective. It is a grass roots strategy which acknowledges the local community as the basis for social transformation, encouraging direct participation in politics through radical, open democracy. We assert that we are all experts in the structures which affect our lives. Direct action means intervening, unmediated, in the systems which surround us. Through critical thought we can develop a critical consciousness, which is emancipatory in itself.

Direct action radicalises and politicises its participants, inspiring them to take action

and actively develop an alternative form of community.

Direct action organises us – it demands that we engage with our communities, workplaces and schools. In developing resistance we are creating networks; learning how to organise; experimenting with alternative ways of building community which establish ongoing foundations for the process of change. In this way, direct action makes the other world visible.

So the G20 are coming to town. We are faced with an opportunity that we cannot ignore – to stand up together and say, loudly, publicly: we oppose you. The anti-capitalist movement has grown out of the action and determination of communities the world over. We must come out in colour and show our strength. Let the regime know that we are everywhere. Reiterate our constant, ongoing resistance – wherever they go, and whatever they do, we will be ready to meet them.

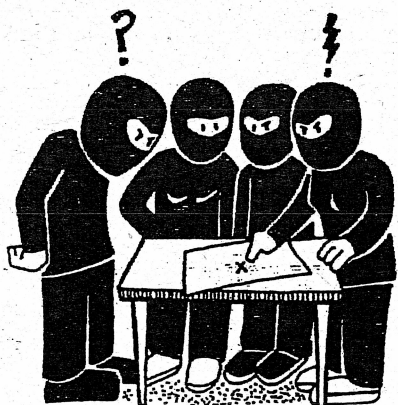


DIRECT ACTION: CORPORATE ENGAGEMENT DAY

On Friday 17th November, let's give new meaning to the term "Corporate Engagement"

On Wednesday 31st August 2005, affinity groups of between ten and forty people descended on different corporate targets in Sydney's CBD as part of the Forbes mobilisation that protested against the meeting of 300 of the world's richest CEOs.

Due to the unexpected nature of these corporate visits, business as usual was successfully disrupted at ANZ Bank branches, coal exporter Xstrada and other corporate offices. When affinity groups simultaneously visited four ANZ branches over the course of the afternoon, we shut down all branches in the Sydney CBD for three days. These office occupations drew attention to ANZ's financial relationship to the Iraq Trade Bank who are profiting from reconstruction and development in Iraq and assisting the process of privatising Iraq's oil. The triumph of this day can be partly attributed to the spontaneity and degree of focus of these decentralised direct actions.



A Space Outside will build on lessons learned at the Forbes mobilisation. On Friday 17th November when the G-20 hit town, affinity groups will seek to directly

disrupt the flow of capital.

At the crux of the G-20 is their Accord for Sustained Growth (subtitled: Stability, Competition and Empowerment: Mobilising Economic Forces for Satisfactory Long-Term Growth. Yippee!). This is the big G-20 gun, its where the bullshit stops and they start firing. Let's take a snap at the dreamy merry-go-round of happy capital ideologues:

Competition is the driving force of economic growth because it fosters efficiency and stimulates innovation. It is also essential for strong investment activity. Carefully designed policies of deregulation, privatisation, and liberalisation of international transactions are important means of strengthening competition. However, ensuring competition and the functioning of markets requires setting the right incentives through efficient institutional arrangements. In particular, policymakers should aim at strengthening and enforcing intellectual and other property rights, contract law, bankruptcy procedures and anti-trust regulations. Also, efforts will be required to promote good governance and combat corruption.

We of A Space Outside think its time to bite the bullet and spit it right back! In the past twenty years the central banks of the world have exploded the speculative investment market to the point where it has become the largest element of international investment. This is part of the same system that seeks to deregulate, privatise and liberalise international markets and basic services such as public infrastructure i.e. water and education. The high flight of fancy fashion of speculative capital leaves it to the whim of these banks: who will have a job one day and

not the next? Who will have a house today and not tomorrow?

These are the same banks that have left countries such as South Africa with huge levels of odious debt after investing millions in the Apartheid government. They are the reason why the government there has privatised much of its infrastructure that few can afford, while paying back the Apartheid debt to maintain investment.

In this regard we have to say "well we can't really combat corruption when the market encourages instability to people's livelihood through unchecked corporate action that is corrupt anyway!"

Of their talk of innovation we can see that they encourage competition as stimulating knowledge and then shut it down enforcing intellectual property rights. How can the systemic monopolisation of medicine and agriculture by business create incentives for the sharing of innovation and ideas? It can't! It's not about sharing; it's about selling.

So in one way we agree with the G-20, it is true: efforts will be required to promote good governance and combat corruption.

On behalf of the G-20 we dedicate Friday the 17th to this.

Let Friday now be known as CORPORATE ENGAGEMENT DAY! Are you cranky at ANZ for investing in the Iraq war, or Kellogg Brown and Root as another business profiting from the war? Australian Federal Treasurer Peter Costello has personally put Energy and Mineral Resources on the G-20 Melbourne agenda with the explicit purpose of discussing ways to preserve Australia's massive energy consumption per head of population that seems to be part of "the Australian way of life". As the government seeks to expand the uranium industry, shall we engage with nuclear companies? It might be time to pay them a visit and tell what we think.

Let's face it, a market run rampant is a market run rampant with ethically questionable profit oriented business. It is time to make the world aware. The day is dedicated to small groups targeting businesses, street theatrics, manic ranting and crazy enjoyment. Get together with your mates around one of the many dodgy businesses in the CBD and give them a piece of your mind! Hope to see you there.



SOME DATES AND PROJECTS THAT NEED YOU!

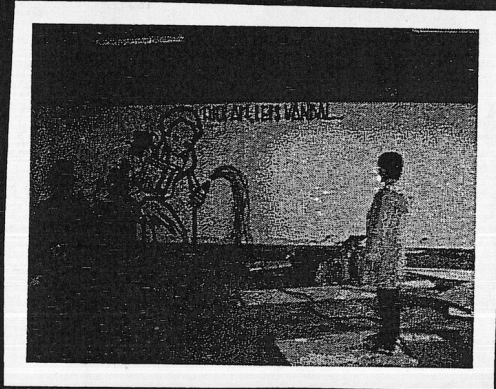
CONFERENCE READER

We are publishing a conference reader and are asking for submissions. Reports from the campaign coal-face, theoretical interventions, graphics and personal reflections are all invited. Although it will necessarily be an edited publication, this reader is intended to be a reflection of the politics and form of the conference, the G20 convergence and the threads of struggle that weave our networks together. As such, please do not limit the content to an 'anti-globalisation' theme. Our movements, thoughts and hopes are far broader, crustier and imperfect than this label allows.

Please limit articles to about 2000 words. Submissions are due on the **16th of October**, so get cranking!

EMPTY SHOW, MUSIC AND PERFORMANCE!

empty show in mels 2004



On the Space Outside **opening night** (Monday the 13th of November) there will be an **empty show**, as well as a night of performance and **kickin' tunes**. We would like to open the invitation to artists, musicians and performers to **contribute, focusing on the themes of public space and reflections on the capacities of the anti-capitalist movements in the current political climate.**

WORKSHOPS

On Tuesday 14th and Wednesday 15th November, A Space Outside is inviting people or collectives to hold **workshops, skill-shares** and present their **creativity**.

We envisage A Space Outside to be a mix of theoretically inspired analysis, creatively inspired rat-baggery and practical skill-shares from forest blockading and police tactics to brewing beer and keeping aphids off your spinach.

CONTACT US!

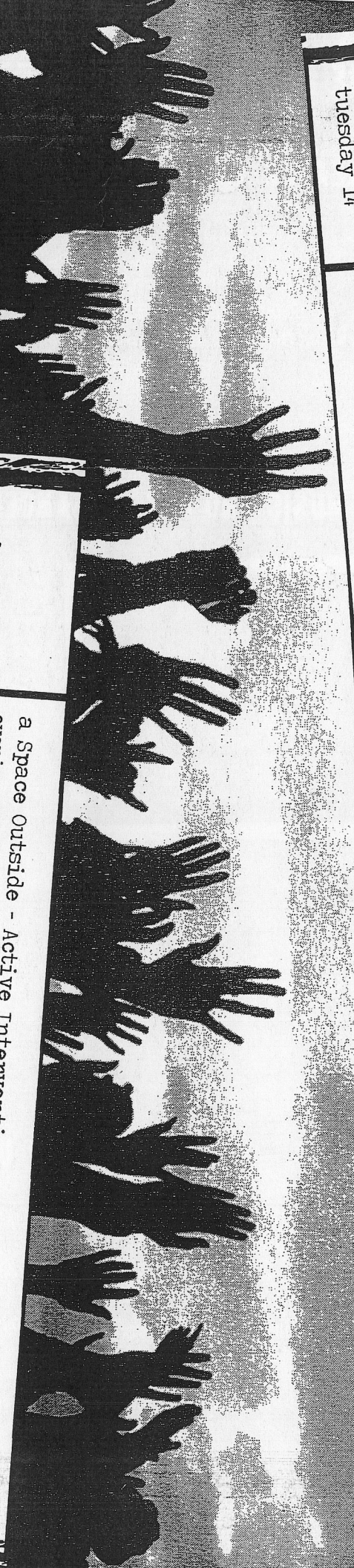
If you or your collective wants to be part of this, please email a short blurb of what your intending to do, or your article to aspaceoutside@hush.com and we will slot your workshop, performance or article in to a good spot.

A Space Outside will be held in an as yet secret location in Melbourne, check the website closer to the date for details on how to find the joint.

For more information and updates see www.aspaceoutside.org

A Space Outside Collective is meeting every Wednesday night, 7pm at Melbourne Uni Student Union, 2nd floor. Our meetings are open, anyone who is interested in participating in the project or just finding out more is more than welcome!

See ya's all there!



monday 13	evening: the G twenty-empty show!!!!
tuesday 14	a Space Outside - Active Interventions within conference day 1

wednesday 15	a Space Outside - Active Interventions within conference day 2 evening: spokescouncil
thursday 16	hands on day: anywhere & everywhere evening: spokescouncil

friday 17	day: Corporate Engagement day: decentralised actions. evening: MPH concert or alternatively 'make neo-liberalism history'
saturday 18	gathering at 12 Noon outside the state library Swanston St. city for speakers, street theatre, then rallying towards a Carnival Against Capitalism street party.

sunday 19	day: Melbourne Social Forum from 11 - 3 pm, quarantine & solidarity actions evening: daggy disco!!!!
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